



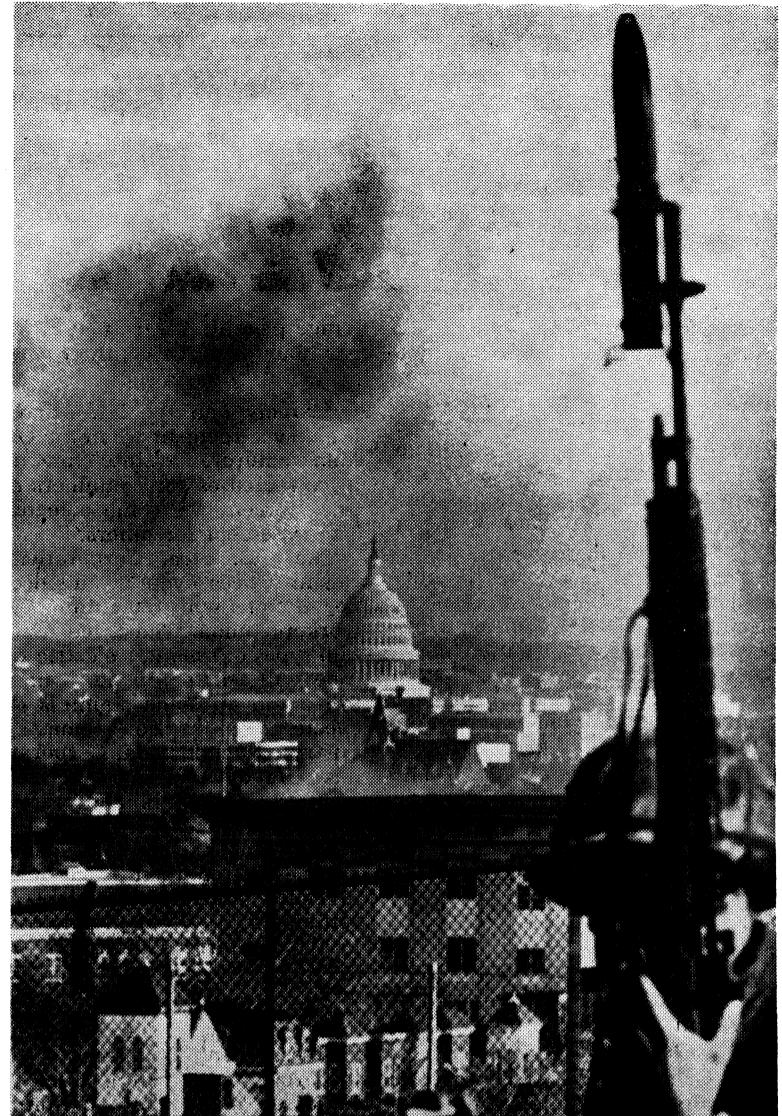
THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 32 - No. 16

Monday, April 15, 1968

Price 10¢



ANGRY REACTION TO MURDER OF KING. At left, demonstration of 10,000 in Philadelphia. At right, smoke rises above Capitol building in Washington.

What Next? Black Political Power, Organized Self-Defense, Are Keys

U.S. Rocked By Eruption In Ghettos

By Elizabeth Barnes

APRIL 10 — Some 65,000 national guardsmen and federal troops occupied black communities across the nation this week as black people took to the streets in a massive, angry response to the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

This nationwide outburst was the most widespread series of rebellions yet. At last count 115 communities were involved.

Thirty-eight people were killed in the massive protests and thou-

Statement by Paul Boutelle

[The following statement by Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, was issued April 9]

The responsibility and guilt for the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King rests squarely with the racist capitalist government. From Washington right on down to the local city administrations, the demands of black people have been met with violence and repression, the same response displayed by the assassin.

What has been the answer at every level of government to the wave of angry protests which swept the black community on the news of the murder of Dr. King? Troops, bullets, rifle butts, bayonets, and tear gas. Having done absolutely nothing to improve the conditions of black people in the

months since last summer's massive protests, the capitalist power structure has responded to these renewed outbreaks of wrath against racist terror and oppression with the dispatch of over 60,000 troops in addition to local police, with over 15,000 arrests of black people and with the killing and wounding of many others.

In Oakland, Calif., cops used the occasion to assassinate Black Panther Party militant Bobby James Hutton, and to shoot and reimprison Black Panther Party leader Eldridge Cleaver.

The man who pulled the trigger on the rifle that killed Dr. King was emulating that kind of racist violence on the part of the protectors of "law and order" who, in the name of defending "private property," are ready to shoot down a man for expropriating a shirt.

The assassin was hoping to imitate the action of the Memphis cops just a few days earlier, who shot and killed in cold blood 16-year-old Larry Payne — and got away with it. This murder occurred during the police rampage against a peaceful march led by Dr. King in support of striking sanitation workers.

The Memphis city authorities have met the demands of the black sanitation workers for union recognition, a union contract and an increase in their miserable wages with court injunctions, police attacks, the hiring of scabs and other acts of strikebreaking. They have met the demands of the entire black community in Memphis, which has taken up the cause of the sanitation workers,

Reports on Washington and Chicago Outbreaks, Page 8.

sands were injured. The total number of arrests was well over 15,000.

The stated policy of federal and state officials has been to react with "a massive and visible presence of law enforcement" — in other words, the use of thousands of troops and cops.

No sooner had Lyndon Johnson called for Americans to reject the violence that struck down Martin Luther King, "who lived by non-violence," than he signed an executive order calling for the deployment of 12,500 federal troops to forcibly put down the Washington uprising.

Chicago was swept by fires declared to be the worst since 1871. In Washington, to find a parallel for the columns of smoke rising

(Continued on Page 5)



Dr. Martin Luther King



PAUL BOUTELLE AND FRED HALSTEAD. Socialist Workers candidates joined Memphis march in support of striking sanitation workers and in memory of Dr. Martin Luther King. Fred Halstead, candidate for President, is at right and next to him is vice-presidential candidate Paul Boutelle. See story on page 5.

with attacks on peaceful demonstrations.

The Tennessee state government joined the conspiracy against the black community and sent National Guard troops to suppress the black people and weaken the fight of the sanitation workers.

The murderous action of the assassin fits right into this logic of government suppression of black people. It was prefigured by every cop across the country who bru-

talizes black people, every cop who picks up a black youth and works him over in the back room of the station house. But the responsibility does not stop with the local governments.

It is the federal government that stands behind the state and local governments, condoning and supporting their actions, ready to send its massive machine of violence to keep black people down, (Continued on Page 4)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

For the fifth time, the J. R. Stevens Co., New York-based textile firm with factories all over the South, has been found guilty of unfair labor practices by the NLRB. Four workers discharged for union activity at two of the company's plants in Dublin, Ga., have been ordered back to work with full back pay.

This brings to 111 the number of employees who have been reinstated by NLRB decision since the Supreme Court refused to review the first four suits brought by the union after the labor board had decided in favor of the Textile Workers of America.

It seems that the J. R. Stevens Co. can't be taught. It's got to be learned!

This week the threatened strike which could have tied up the entire glass container industry was averted when the Glass Bottle Blowers Association negotiations committee narrowly approved a new contract with the Glass Manufacturers Institute.

This contract covers machine operators and maintenance workers in 16 plants represented by the Institute on the West Coast. It is estimated that the 35-month contract will increase wages and

fringe benefits from \$1.09 to \$1.19 per hour over the contract period.

* * *

Scarcely had the ink dried on the new agreement when the Glass Manufacturers Institute announced price increases for containers of 3 to 4 percent for some categories, 5 to 6 percent for others.

The U.S. Steel Corporation is raising prices even in advance of negotiations with the United Steelworkers union. The price of certain types of seamless electric weld pipe will go up \$10 per ton; and \$75 a ton on some stainless steel sheets used in the chemical industry. Crucible Steel Corporation has already upped the price of stainless steel bars and wire by 4 percent.

The copper, zinc and lead industries raised their prices by 10 percent immediately after the settlement of the 9-month strike in the nonferrous industry.

* * *

All of which gets a weak slap on the wrist from government sources, using a piece of wet macaroni for a whip. But wage increases make the Johnson administration very unhappy because they bring on the "threat of inflation!"

— Marvel Scholl

SOCIALIST FUND

Foes of Capitalist Violence

By Evelyn Reed
Fund Director

After Dr. Martin Luther King was gunned down, President Johnson and other public figures put tears in their eyes and a tremble in their voices as they condemned the deed on TV. They all posed as men of peace and goodwill, admonishing black and white alike to stop making this a "nation of violence."

Their hypocrisy is as shameless as it is incredible. These perpetrators of genocidal violence abroad and racist violence at home suddenly turn into solemn preachers of nonviolence when an unscheduled imitation by a racist assassin of their own example takes place.

Systematic Violence

These representatives of the rich in the White House and Pentagon have made this country into a land of systematic violence and the teaching of violence in both the police and armed forces. They have created the most massive military machine in history at a cost of \$80 billion a year. They pour \$30 billion into the Vietnam war while hardly anything is done to relieve the poverty and misery in the city slums.

Here is how the U.S. Army inculcates violence of the most bestial kind in the members of the armed forces. At a Colorado training base, the Army has a program called "Quick Kill," which is designed to "teach instinctive shooting." The report in the March 30 *New York Times* adds: "The game is considerably more enthralling than a day on the rifle range."

In this same training camp they teach how to kill women and children and village priests. "I've killed men, women and children,"

Socialist Campaign Materials

Write to the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, for list of socialist election campaign materials available, including posters, pamphlets, buttons, etc.

Cops Kill Panther Member, Wound Cleaver, in Oakland

By Paul McKnight

OAKLAND, April 8 — Oakland cops killed one member of the Black Panther Party and wounded two others during a 90-minute barrage of bullets and tear gas here last Saturday night.

The victims were sitting in a parked car when the police attack began. They ran to a nearby house, and the cops called in three dozen reinforcements for the ensuing battle.

Victims

Dead was Bobby James Hutton, 22. Warren Wells, 21, and Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party, were wounded by the cops. Two cops suffered minor injuries.

The Black Panther Party announced today that it will ask that murder charges be filed against the Oakland police.

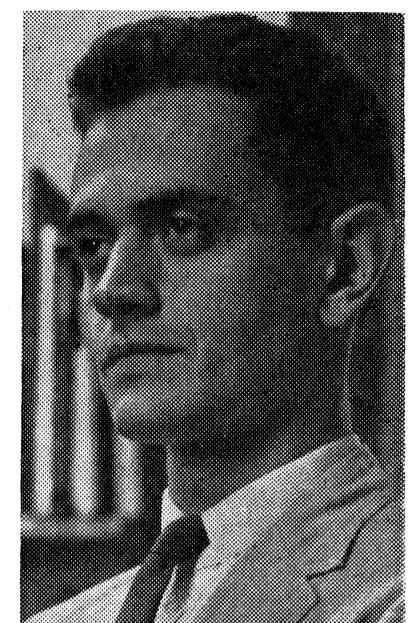
In all, eight Panthers were ar-

rested following the attack. Cleaver, author of the recently published *Soul on Ice*, is now being held at the state prison at Vacaville for parole violation.

Camejo's Statement

In a statement on this latest police attack against the Black Panther Party, Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in California, said: "It is very clear that Bobby James Hutton was assassinated by the Oakland cops. This is a case of out-and-out murder, just like Dr. King's murder in Memphis, only in this case it was done by the cops.

"Hutton's murder clearly demonstrates the immediate need to remove all cops from the ghettos and to replace them with democratically controlled, deputized ghetto residents, who would protect instead of brutalize Afro-Americans."



Peter Camejo

REVIEWS and REPORTS

SOUL ON ICE. By Eldridge Cleaver. Introduction by Maxwell Geismar. McGraw-Hill. \$5.95 210 pp.

Soul on Ice by Eldridge Cleaver is a collection of essays and letters written while he was in California's Folsom State Prison. The "soul" of this book is contained in the personal and political history of the author which resembles that of his mentor and model, Malcolm X.

Born in Little Rock, Ark., 33 years ago, Cleaver was molded by his experiences in the ghettos of Los Angeles and by the sentences he served between 1954 and 1966 at three California prisons: San Quentin, Folsom and Soledad. Today he is chairman of the Black House Council and Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party in the Bay Area.

Forceful Spokesman

He is a forceful spokesman for the black freedom fighters in this country and a writer of uncommon power. This first work deals with two major themes. One is the condition of the colonized Afro-American people. The other is the gamut of sexual passions from socially vengeful rape to the love of individual affinities. Out of these factors have come the twisted sexual reactions between white and black created by North American racism.

Cleaver's endowments as a writer match those of Norman Mailer, who salutes his talent, and James



Eldridge Cleaver

Baldwin, who is the subject of *Notes on a Native Son*, a probing study of the merits and defects of Cleaver's predecessor in the field of Afro-American literature. However, Cleaver is far less egocentric than Mailer, the author of so many "advertisements for myself," and he shows remarkable objectivity in the analyses of both Baldwin and himself.

Different Generations

Baldwin and Cleaver represent different generations. However much he has tried to readjust to later developments, Baldwin was essentially formed in Harlem and Paris during the war and the cold war years, before even the initial civil rights phase of the black liberation movement had begun. Cleaver was 18 years old in 1954 when the Supreme Court banned segregation in the public schools. He has deepened his consciousness under the influences of Malcolm X and Frantz Fanon, Birmingham, Watts and Detroit, the victories of the colonial revolution and world socialism, and the hardening of the black resistance movement.

These pages, symbolically written in a prison cell, pulsate with indignation at the wrongs inflicted by white capitalist America upon the black masses who are striving to break out of their foul dungeon "by any means necessary." But Cleaver does more than

express the feelings of his people; he is trying to think through the problems of emancipation far more thoroughly than most other black militants.

Difficult Problems

These problems are complicated and difficult to work out in theory and in practice. Although the insurgent thrust of Cleaver's thinking is unmistakable, his highly charged writings sometimes convey the impression of a person who is being pulled by swirling crosscurrents in different directions. These unresolved tensions go hand in hand with a continued search for clarity about his own role and the destiny of the Afro-Americans, who are likewise heightening their national consciousness, radicalizing their views, and preparing themselves for a revolutionary future.

The Iranian novelist and essayist, F. M. Esfandiary, told an interviewer in the March 30, 1967, *Village Voice*: "It is the duty of the writer, because he is articulate and has a platform, to bring to the attention of people everywhere the maledictions that harass millions and millions. Once when I was in an Iranian village and the villagers learned that I was a writer, they importuned me to bring their plight—the injustices, the hunger, the indignities—to the eyes of the world."

Insight

Eldridge Cleaver has assumed the obligation of giving voice "to the mute ambitions of the black man's soul." He is doing so with sensitivity, sincerity and a method which combines psychological awareness with social and historical insight. Although his book passes such tests, it cannot be adequately appraised in purely esthetic-literary terms. It is the production of a gifted writer who is also a revolutionary activist.

This exceptional fusion is an index to the creative powers lodged in the black liberation movement. Its keynote is expressed in Cleaver's final comment on Malcolm X's assassination: "We shall have our manhood. We shall have it or the earth will be leveled by our attempts to gain it."

—George Novack

I Want to Help

Enclosed is my contribution of \$..... to help fulfill the \$26,000 Socialist Fund.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZIP _____ STATE _____

Send check or money order to:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

THE IMAGE-MAKERS

How Media Depicted Dr. King

By Joseph Hansen

[The following are excerpts from an article that appeared in the April 12 issue of *World Outlook*.]

Within hours of the slaying of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Thursday, April 4, Afro-Americans in the ghettos of more than 40 cities in the U.S. were in the streets.

To most of them the assassination of the leading Negro advocate of nonviolence was clinching proof that white America had declared war to the finish against the blacks . . .

The entire communications media rallied to the emergency with singular unanimity. The television companies in particular pushed aside their regular programs to saturate the channels with material aimed at assuaging the feelings of the black community, keeping them pinned to their television screens and subjected to Martin Luther King's image and voice on the single theme of nonviolence.

The tapes showing scenes in King's life were carefully selected and edited to emphasize nothing but his Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence. Little was shown of the marches he organized, the demonstrations he headed, the masses he led into the streets.

No shots were shown even of his last action in Memphis in behalf of the striking sanitation workers, the action that was disrupted by the Memphis police, who shot one of the demonstrators, thus inciting the atmosphere of violence that King's assassin only carried to its logical conclusion.

Similarly bypassed on television were King's denunciations of the failure of the powers-that-be to act, his warnings of what could



AT APRIL 15 MARCH. Dr. Martin Luther King, center, in front of giant march in New York last year in protest of war in Vietnam.

happen if the lawmakers persisted in their course of disregarding the basic causes of the mounting unrest and rebellion in the ghettos.

Likewise disregarded was the last phase of Martin Luther King's public activity in which he joined the opposition to the war in Vietnam and sought to help link the antiwar and civil-rights movements. No television channel, for instance, ran tapes of Martin Luther King addressing what he said was the largest audience he ever spoke before — the huge throng of 400,000 persons who participated in the April 15, 1967, antiwar demonstration in New York.

In addition, a striking aspect of all this propaganda was the prominence given to Negroes like Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Whitney M. Young, Jr., of the National Urban League, long notorious as house servants of the white capitalist power structure. More militant spokesmen of the black people were given minimum time, and the best-known advocates of black power, like Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, were virtually excluded.

But anger was running deep in the ghettos. John C. Waugh reported from Los Angeles in the April 6 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"Many blacks here, in the shadow of Watts, where the first violent outbreak of the black revolution erupted three summers ago, think the King murder opens a whole new and troubled era in American race relations."

Question

"Now the black man really feels threatened," one Negro here said. "If a man like King can't survive, then where is there room for peaceful protest?"

Three correspondents reported from New York in the same issue of the *Monitor*:

"But a local preacher, the Rev. Jesse Truvillion, seemed closer to the general Harlem reaction with his word: 'rage.'

"And that," he said, "is probably the mildest feeling you'll find in Harlem. Who could expect less? We've endorsed hatred in this country for so long that we get to expecting something like that [the assassination]."

"The Rev. Mr. Truvillion, asked what he might say to his congregation next Sunday, thought for a moment, then said: 'I would not advise them to engage in violence. However, I don't think one man did the shooting. There are a few million people in this country whose hatred pulled that trigger.'

"We have warned for years that the white man must learn to love the Negro before the Negro learned to hate like the white

man does. Now it's too late, brother. We've learned to hate."

"I cannot climb into my pulpit on Sunday and in good conscience preach the love of Calvary."

Again in the same issue of the *Monitor*, Howard James reported from Louisville, Ky., on a conversation with Samuel Hawkins, a devoted follower of Martin Luther King, who spent much of last summer in jail in Louisville because of his participation in civil-rights marches.

"Nonviolence Died"

At a Baptist church, Samuel Hawkins announced the news about Dr. King. "Then he slowly turned to me and said in measured words: 'That's it. That's it. Non-violence died with Dr. King.'

"As his anger obviously rose, he turned away from me and said to no one in particular, 'That's white America.'

"Then he turned back to me [a white reporter].

"That's what happens to the decent guys. He didn't say nothing about black power. He didn't advocate violence. He preached love, man. And they killed him. Carmichael was right. He was right."

Howard James reports another conversation, this time in the home of the Rev. A. D. King, Martin Luther King's brother:

"Marshall Jackson, a Negro college student who accompanied us, stood on the front lawn and said words that seemed to reflect the mood of all young Negroes that surrounded me:

"I feel anger all over me. I feel hate swelling up in me. If a [white man] came down the street now I think I could kill him in revenge."

"But even as he said it, it became clear he was lashing out at prejudice, hatred, and violence—not really at white men."

"For he said these words to me, and I am white. Because I stood beside him there on the Rev. Mr. King's lawn, he forgot about my color..."

New Situation

The shift in mood in the ghettos, precipitated by the assassination of Dr. King, constitutes a change in the American political scene of the greatest portent. Its first consequence was a nationwide explosion of anger. The fires that lit up the night in such metropolitan centers as Chicago will die down, but the feeling of hate, of intolerable suffocation and provocation, will endure.

This now becomes a new force which every political tendency in America will have to take into account from here on out. It derives not from a passing incident but from the superexploitation, the poverty, the segregation, indignities and violence that constitute life in America for some twenty million black people . . .

THE MILITANT

Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD

Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

Published weekly, except during July and August when published biweekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$3 a year; Canada and Latin America, \$3.50; other foreign, \$4.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada, \$9.00; all other countries, \$14.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$12.50; Latin America, \$23.00; Europe, \$27.00, Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$32.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 32 - No. 16

345

Monday, April 15, 1968

Another Martyr for Freedom

The Rev. Martin Luther King gave his life while seeking to realize his dream of a society of brotherhood, peace, and justice through nonviolence.

He acted on the basis of a belief that firmness of example, reason and love could remake the racist society we now live in.

Upholders of the status quo demagogically endorsed this concept because they saw it as a means of lulling black people. Others supported nonviolence because they genuinely believed it to be in harmony with the goal they aspired to.

No one seriously concerned with social progress could quarrel with the wish that racism could be eliminated in such a way. But the murder of Dr. King was harsh evidence of the impracticality of such a program.

Its impracticality sprang not so much, as some would contend, from an underestimation of the implacable evil in the hearts of some men but, far more decisive, from the inherently violent and racist character of the social system under which we live.

Racism and violence are pillars of capitalism. Racism is used to divide the oppressed at home and abroad. Violence is used to try to impose the will of American capitalism on such liberation movements as that of the Vietnamese. Violence is the ultimate reply to every serious challenge to racism and exploitation at home.

The methods of nonviolence may possibly change the mind or heart of one or another individual racist. But it cannot change the social system which is so totally dependent on racism and violence for its survival.

Malcolm X, who was also murdered by this system, insisted that power is the only thing that can cope with power. The abolition of the present racist system requires the building of a revolutionary, anticapitalist political power. It is the only realistic road to the coming society of brotherhood.

The successful building of such a movement will assure that Dr. King did not die in vain.

The Vietnam Negotiations

Millions of Americans are watchfully waiting as the Johnson administration moves toward some form of negotiations with the government of North Vietnam. They are concerned that the negotiations should result in an end to the slaughter and the return home of American soldiers. Large numbers are equally concerned with seeing an end to the efforts to crush the Vietnamese liberation struggle and recognition of the right of self-determination for the people of Vietnam.

As to be expected, Washington is keeping its moves shrouded in secrecy so that the American people will not be informed as to its real aims and objectives in the negotiations.

But it can be stated with absolute certainty that they will make every effort to utilize the negotiations for the very same purposes for which they have employed such barbaric instruments of force. That purpose can be summed up in the words: Hold back the Vietnamese revolution.

Washington's situation is a difficult one. Its forces in South Vietnam have suffered hammer blows at the hands of the liberation movement. The recent expression of nervous concern by the Saigon puppets at the prospects of negotiations is eloquent testimony to the bankruptcy of that regime. It is a clear admission that the dictatorship has absolutely no base within the country and survives only by the grace of U.S. armed force. Which is, of course, precisely why the U.S. has been compelled to pour such forces into Vietnam.

The fact that the U.S. continues and even tries to intensify its war in the South, as well as its aggression in the North, should make clear that its declared intention to negotiate does not spring from any change of heart.

The military blows suffered in Vietnam, coupled with the intense opposition at home, drove Washington into its present stated willingness to negotiate. But it in no way changes its basic aims in Vietnam. To the degree that it is able, it will utilize the negotiations as a tactic to achieve a continuing U.S. military presence in that country in the hope of saving the present social system.

Those who are genuinely concerned with peace and justice for the Vietnamese people cannot have the slightest confidence in Johnson's negotiations. The only real contribution toward assuring a positive outcome to such dealings is more of the same pressure that forced the administration even to assume a bargaining posture. Right now increased public clamor for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and recognition of the right of self-determination for the Vietnamese can play a particularly significant role.

The slated April Days of Protest, culminating in the April 27 demonstrations, now assume an even greater urgency. They offer an important opportunity to help mount the kind of pressure that is needed if anything positive is to be extracted from Johnson's negotiators.

April Days of Protest

Nat'l Roundup On CHOICE 68

As a result of the CHOICE 68 campus referendum on presidential candidates, dozens of new Halstead for President groups have sprung up on campuses where, until now, there has been little or no socialist activity. Typical of letters coming in to the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee office is this one from Sacred Heart Seminary in Detroit, Mich.: "We are a group of students interested in actively supporting the candidacy of Fred Halstead for President of the United States. This is being done in conjunction with CHOICE 68, the National Collegiate Presidential Primary. We would appreciate it if you could send us some campaign materials to assist us in this endeavor."

A CHOICE 68 coordinator from Antioch College recently wrote to the CHOICE 68 national office protesting that there will be no real choice on the ballot under the referendum on the "urban crisis." He wrote: "In fact, CHOICE 68 has no place for the expression of the black radical sentiments — black power, black control of the black communities are hardly represented. In effect, with the exception of the Vietnam referendum question, CHOICE 68 offers very little choice for American radicals, and especially black radicals. Without the Halstead ticket and the 'immediate withdrawal' answer, there would be virtually NO choice that is consistent with their goals and demands."

The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee urges students to write to CHOICE 68 demanding that they provide for tabulating write-in votes for "black control of the black communities."

The following report came in from Carbondale, Ill., on April 4: "At least 650 people gathered here tonight to hear Paul Boutelle speak on 'Black Power and Socialism.' About 500 of those present were black students. The meeting began at 8 p.m. in the University Center Ballroom a short time after the news of the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The meeting was sponsored by the African-Afro-American Student Union and by CHOICE 68."

Students for a Democratic Society at Oklahoma University have voted to give critical support to the Halstead-Boutelle campaign. SDS at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, has written in for literature about Halstead and Boutelle to pass out in conjunction with CHOICE 68 on their campus.

Janice Frank, SWP campaign director in Berkeley, and Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for Senator from California, attended a

CHOICE 68 is a nationwide campus poll on the presidential elections and the war in Vietnam. Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, heads alphabetical list of presidential candidates. Besides presidential vote, there is a referendum on the war in Vietnam, and on the "urban crisis."

Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle are urging a vote for Fred Halstead, for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, for a permanent cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam and urges a write-in vote for "Black control of the black community" on the "urban crisis" referendum.

STUDENTS:

Vote!

April 24

STUDENTS:

Strike!

April 26

EVERYONE:

March!

April 27

To Bring the GIs Home Now!

meeting of Area Group 10 of the Peace and Freedom Party on April 4. The "Area Group 10" includes primarily students from the University of California at Berkeley. Camejo spoke about the importance of the Peace and Freedom Party working to get out the vote on April 24 for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and "black control of the black communities." Frank and Camejo pointed out that Fred Halstead is the only CHOICE 68 candidate who supports these positions and urged the group to endorse Halstead. The Peace and Freedom members voted 20 to 1 to give qualified support to Halstead in the CHOICE 68 referendum although they plan to choose their own candidate for the presidency this summer.

At a recent campaign speech by Senator Eugene McCarthy at the University of California at Berkeley, supporters of Halstead and Boutelle sold out the 75 copies they had of the "Truth About the McCarthy Campaign." This pamphlet, put out by the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, contains McCarthy's voting record and an analysis of his positions. Halstead supporters also distributed a leaflet exposing the McCarthy campaign to 3,500 people attending the meeting. The leaflet was very well received.

At his campaign speech at the University of California in Berkeley, McCarthy was asked, "What is the difference between you and your platform and Kennedy's platform?" McCarthy gave the following answer: "He's 42 years old. I guess you'll just have to consider who you think would make the better president."

When questioned on whether he was for black control of the black communities, McCarthy said: "Well, I don't have the power to give them control so I can't really say, and it would depend on the concrete situation. That's a very abstract question, but I would say that certainly they have the right to control all that they deserve."

The Illinois Socialist Workers Party recently announced the candidacy of Dan Styron for U.S. Senator from Illinois. He will be running against Sen. Everett Dirksen. The Illinois campaign committee has set up a series of meetings for Styron on 21 campuses in Illinois and Missouri between April 8 and 18.

— Caroline Lund

Student Strikes, Mass Marches

Forty-two colleges and universities and more than 100 high schools in the New York City area are working on the April Days of Protest. Large turnouts are expected for the CHOICE 68 anti-war referendum April 24, the International Student Strike April 26, and the massive twin marches and rally planned for New York City on April 27.

Major demonstrations are already scheduled for April 27 in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Atlanta, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Austin, Seattle, Philadelphia, Columbus, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, and Portland. Smaller cities around the country will mobilize to participate in these demonstrations or to hold their own actions.

Following are a few excerpts from letters and reports that have come into the national office of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam in the last week.

At the Bernard M. Baruch School of Business in New York, an editorial appeared in the March 26 issue of the school paper, the *Ticker*, which said, "On April 26 students and faculty throughout the United States and the international community will strike their classes to stop the war in Vietnam. The Baruch School is considered by many observers to be a very conservative school... However, recent indications have shown that on April 26 the International Strike for Peace at the Baruch School will be highly successful.... *The Ticker endorses the strike against the war in Vietnam.*"

At Pratt Institute in New York the strikers plan to construct a model Vietnamese village on the school parade grounds where an ROTC march is scheduled to take place April 26.

PORTLAND, Ore. — (Portland State College) "Society for New Action Politics and SDS in Portland are coordinating activities for the 10 days of protest from April 21-30.... We'll do all we can in Portland to get faculty and students to cut classes that day [April 26] to work on antiwar activities and black self-determination...."

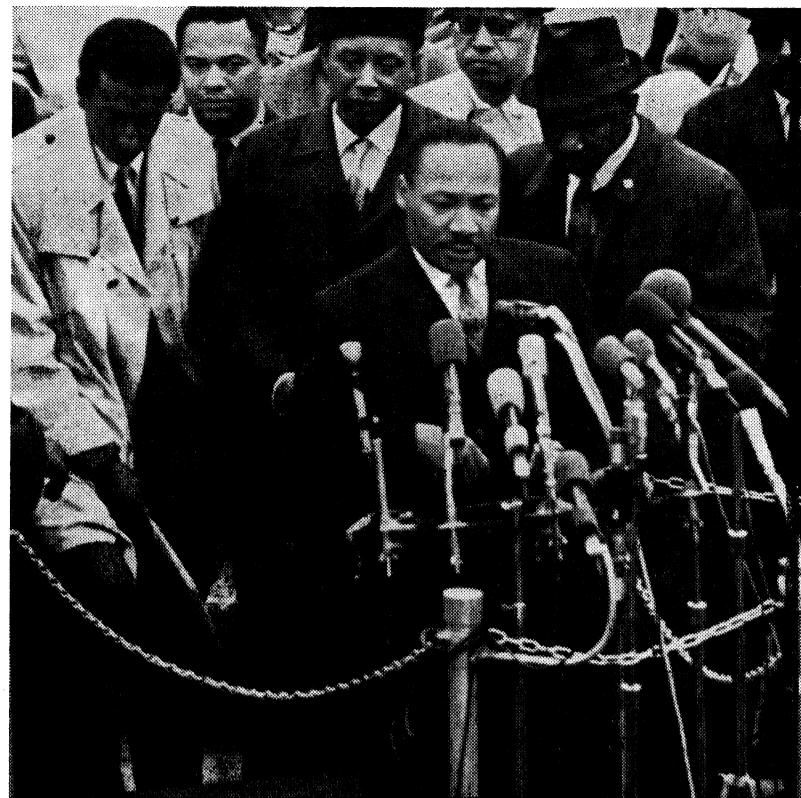
MEADVILLE, Pa. — (Allegheny College) "There is a full-scale organizational operation going on now to commit all students and faculty (the majority of both, at least) to our local version of the Strike...."

CARBONDALE, Ill. — (Southern Illinois U.) "We are planning a demonstration on the 27th...."

ATLANTA, Ga. — (Georgia State College) "The Georgia State Committee on Social Issues (COSI) met today and voted unanimously to endorse the Student Strike on April 26. Tentative plans were made by the committee to picket along the sidewalks at the main entrances of the urban school. The students would not attend classes...."

"In regard to the April 27th demonstration, the Atlanta Alliance for Peace met tonight and made plans for a demonstration in Atlanta on that day. Plans were discussed for a march, originating possibly at the Selective Service Headquarters, down Peachtree Street (one of Atlanta's more prominent) to a park in which a rally would be held."

BOSTON, Mass. — "At Simmons College, student congress is sup-



AGAINST VIETNAM WAR. Dr. Martin Luther King speaks to April 15, 1967 antiwar demonstration. Dr. King was scheduled to speak at upcoming April 27 demonstration in New York. At left is Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, and next to him, Floyd McKissick of CORE.

porting the Strike and the strike committee there has achieved wide support, ranging from the black group on campus to the student congress.

"MIT will hold a war crimes tribunal on the 26th, tying in MIT's complicity with the war.... The Boston High School Student Mobilization Committee, which has contacts at over 55 high schools in the area, is organizing strike activities at 15 schools so far...."

SEATTLE, Wash. — (Roosevelt H.S.) "The Roosevelt Students for a Democratic Society here in Seattle are publicizing the Student Strike to be held on April 26...."

EL SOBRANTE, Calif. — (El Sobrante High School) "In order to spread the information and build the strike here I will need information on the SMC, the NAWADU and the HSSMC...."

CHICAGO, Ill. — (U. of Ill., Circle

... Statement by Boutelle

(Continued from Page 4) as the last few days have amply demonstrated. And it is the federal government which is and has been all these years primarily responsible for maintaining the system of racial oppression.

Afro-Americans cannot expect the capitalist power structure at any level to protect them or their leaders. Cops and national guardsmen were swarming over Memphis when Dr. King was shot, but they were so busy keeping the black community down they provided no protection for Dr. King in spite of the fact that repeated threats have been made on his life and he was in danger.

Jesse Jackson, an aide of Dr. King, said that as soon as the murderous shot was fired, "I saw police coming from everywhere. They said, 'Where did it come from?' And I said, 'Behind you.' The police were coming from where the shot came."

Black people cannot expect city, state or federal governments to protect them from racist killers. They have the constitutional right and obvious need to organize to defend themselves.

Black people cannot expect redress of their grievances by the racist capitalist government. The entire history of this country demonstrates that racism has been incorporated into the very foundations of the capitalist system. The government has never intended and does not now intend to go one step beyond meaningless policies of tokenism and gradualism where the vital needs of black people are concerned. A long series of

bitter experiences have demonstrated that black people cannot hope the capitalist government will change its basic policies. Experience has proven that before black people can attain justice, the government itself must be changed.

It follows that the central problem for Afro-Americans is a political one. It can be solved only by taking independent black political action. Afro-Americans must have their own independent political party. Only through such a political instrument of their own can black people effectively combat a ruling class that profits from the maintenance of racial oppression and controls the government through the capitalist politicians, organized in the Democratic and Republican parties.

An independent black party, responsible to the black masses, would be capable of organizing their energy and determination and anger into a powerful political striking force capable of taking on the oppressors at the highest, most important level, the level of politics, of government. We would then end our situation of political impotence, and powerfully advance our struggle to control our lives and communities.

Through our example of independent political action against the capitalist parties, we could spearhead a general anticapitalist movement that will take governmental power out of the hands of the exploiters, opening the way to the construction of a new society based on human dignity, justice and brotherhood.

Mood of Militancy Pervaded Memphis Memorial March

By Howard Reed

MEMPHIS, April 8 — More than 40,000 persons, mostly black, marched in Memphis today in support of striking sanitation workers and in tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King. The march had originally been scheduled by Dr. King.

The majority of the march was made up of black people from Memphis, and it is clear that the struggle there is being strongly supported by the entire black community. The rest of the marchers were mainly trade unionists.

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, and Paul Bouteille, SWP vice-presidential candidate, canceled speaking engagements and flew to Memphis for the march.

None of the capitalist presidential candidates were on the march.

The speakers represented a broad section both of the black community and the labor movement. The Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, King's top aide, set the tone by blasting racism in this country, calling it a "contagious sickness, created by a capitalistic society," and "brought here by none other than the white man." Abernathy also sharply attacked Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb and the Tennessee state government. He strongly supported the striking sanitation workers of Memphis and said that he was "sick and tired of black people dying in Vietnam when they can't live decently at home."

Mrs. Coretta King, widow of Dr. King, led the march and stressed her husband's concern with the economic situation of black people, "the sanitation workers here in Memphis. He was concerned that you have a decent income and protection that was due you. And this was why he came back to Memphis to give his aid." Other leaders of the march included Harry Belafonte, Ossie Davis, and the Rev. James Lawson and Dr. Ralph Jackson, both of Memphis. Marchers wore signs saying, "I Am a Man"; "Union Justice Now"



Photo by Shannon

UNSHEATHED BAYONETS. National Guard lined route of Memphis march, which was called to honor Dr. King and support striking sanitation workers.

and "Honor Dr. King."

A significant aspect of the march was the support given to it by the labor movement. Although the sanitation workers had previously gained the support of local labor bodies and a few international unions, the organized labor movement as a whole had ignored the heroic struggle of these workers.

However, at the march Walter Reuther said that the UAW was donating \$50,000 to the strikers and would continue to donate enough money so that the workers could continue their struggle until they won. The AFL-CIO announced a donation of \$20,000.

The urgency of labor support became clear with a description of the present state of negotiations in the strike. Although Mayor Loeb claims he wants to settle the strike, his most recent offer to the workers, made the morning of the march, would deny completely the dues checkoff and union recognition that the strikers have stayed out nine weeks for. Although the men are averaging

only \$1.70 an hour, Loeb's latest offer would raise their wages to a measly \$1.78 an hour. The union, of course, rejected this.

Jerry Wurf, international president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, to which the strikers are affiliated, pledged to continue full support of the strike and blasted Loeb. Union checkoff and recognition are standard demands, and several public employee unions in Memphis with white membership have already won them.

John DeLury, president of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association in New York, was also present. The New York sanitation men were on strike last January, when the threat of a general strike in New York prevented Mayor Lindsay from calling out the National Guard. Harry van Arsdale, president of the million-member New York Central Labor Council, was also there. Among other unions represented officially at the march were District 65 RWDSU, the American Federation of Teachers, Packinghouse Workers, the Seafarers, and the New York Social Service Employees Union.

Show 'Em'

The racist atmosphere in Memphis was very much in evidence with the presence of 6,000 National Guard troops. When asked why their bayonets were unsheathed, one officer explained that it was "to show these people that we are not going to put up with violence." Memphis still has a 7 p.m. curfew, which is enforced primarily against blacks.

There was a contingent of more than 1,000 trade unionists from New York, mostly teachers, welfare workers and other public employees. District Council 37 of AFSCME in New York chartered four planes to bring their members to the march. However, the District Council has not learned one important lesson from the Memphis strikers, the necessity to rely on rank-and-file and community support.

More than 60 District Council members, many of them black, who had made and confirmed plane reservations well in advance, were arbitrarily yanked off the plane to make room for New York politicians who suddenly manifested their concern for progress in Memphis. Among public officials going to Memphis at the expense of rank-and-file members were New York City Controller Mario Procaccino and State Assemblyman Albert Blumenthal who voted in favor of the vicious Taylor Law forbidding public employees in New York State to strike.

walked a few blocks, police cars began crowding them to the curb.

Then the cops made a vicious attack with clubs and the chemical Mace. One squad car ran over the foot of a marcher, Gladys Carpenter, and then stopped, right on her foot.

A white field director of the union supporting the strikers was sprayed with tear gas and Mace repeatedly. A 72-year-old man was sprayed with Mace until he toppled to the ground. That was Feb. 23.

The peaceful demonstration led by Martin Luther King himself on March 28 was attacked even more violently. Hundreds of black people were injured, and one 16-year-old Afro-American youth was killed by cops. Three others were gunned down.

The cops attacked everybody with tear gas, Mace and clubs. Squad cars zoomed down the streets at 60 m.p.h. and every intersection had cops with tear gas guns and gas masks patrolling it. Police helicopters were flying around as squads of 30 or more cops would patrol a single corner. Thousands of national guardsmen were called in to suppress the black community.

That is the real background in Memphis to the murder of Dr. King.

The murder of Martin Luther King right under the noses of dozens of Memphis cops is supposed to be some sort of a departure from the "standards" of Memphis "law and order." The assassin is supposed to be a "demented" man and the killing a "unique incident."

That opinion hardly reconciles with the events of the last two months in Memphis, much less the past decades of racist violence and oppression.

Since Feb. 11, black sanitation workers of Memphis have been fighting a just battle for a better wage, union recognition, a written contract and dues checkoff. These elementary rights have been met with every level of resistance by the city and state, from phony court orders to massive police attacks on the black community supporting the striking workers.

Here are two of the incidents King planned to protest in the march he had scheduled for April 8, and which was still under a court injunction at the time of his murder:

On Feb. 23, a march down Main Street was called to demonstrate against the City Council's refusal to meet the sanitation workers' demands. After the marchers had

Gov't Reply to Ghetto: 'Massive Police Force'

What is the response of the capitalist ruling class and its politicians to the demands of black people for full freedom and a decent way of life? The administration's immediate reaction to the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King gives a good indication.

The day after the assassination of King, President Johnson declared a state of "domestic violence and disorder" in the nation's capital. By Sunday the local police force of 2,800 men had been supplemented by 12,500 troops; the city resembled a battlefield, and the White House, surrounded by machine guns and battle-ready troops, reminded onlookers of the U.S. embassy in Saigon during the "Tet Offensive."

The line behind which the ruling class appeared to be uniting was expressed in an editorial in the April 7 *New York Times*: "There can be no hesitation, no timidity in protecting endangered cities. Burners and looters must be repressed by a massive show of police force and arrests."

In Chicago, Mayor Richard J. Daley, an influential boss of the Johnson machine, spoke even more clearly. With 7,500 national guardsmen and 5,000 federal troops in the streets and with casualties already at 11 dead and more than 200 wounded, the mayor, speaking over television April 6, demanded "sterner methods" and indicated that it was time to begin "shooting looters."

Johnson made the dramatic move of calling a special joint session of Congress. There were in-

dications that he might make a demagogic play of insisting on passage of new civil-rights legislation, but Congress was described as in a "backlash" mood.

The legislators have in fact been rescinding concessions already granted, particularly in medical aid and social security. They have been allocating funds instead to the "war against crime in the streets," their way of describing the war they have declared against the dwellers in America's ghettos.

Thus the Senate Judiciary Committee recently approved an administration bill granting \$100,000,000 the first year to help local authorities in their "war against crime in the streets"; while the House approved a cut of \$100,000,000 in emergency appropriations for two poverty programs to help youth in the slums.

Even if Johnson makes a dramatic grandstand play at the projected joint session of Congress, it remains to be seen whether this body, which is completely monopolized by the capitalist class, will suddenly change its course and offer a few concessions to go along with the harsh repressive measures that have already been decided on.

As for the Afro-Americans, increasing numbers of them will now undoubtedly come to the conclusion that the great need now is effective political organization. The explosive force of the ghettos needs a revolutionary program, competent leadership and disciplined action to give it irresistible power.

...Eruptions Rock U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)

over the dome of Congress, commentators had to go back to the war of 1812. Ten people were killed in the revolt in the nation's capital and over a thousand injured. (The number of injuries in the 1967 Detroit uprising was 1,000. Total deaths were 40.)

No sooner had rebellion broken out in Washington than nearby Baltimore began to go up in smoke. Six people died and over 500 hundred were injured during the five-day uprising there. A four o'clock curfew was rigidly enforced by over 10,000 troops, and many of the 4,887 arrests were for breaking the curfew.

No section of the country was excluded from the turmoil. More than 1,000 arrests were made in Pittsburgh when over 4,200 troops were moved into the ghetto. Some 400 fires blazed in the "hill district," an area where unemployment is four times higher than in the rest of the city.

Rebellions in five different areas of New York City nearly approximated the size of the famous 1964 outbursts in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. "Property damage and arrests... have been almost on a par with that during the week-long riots of July, 1964," the *New York Times* reported today.

Many scenes during the outbreaks resembled those of previous long, hot summers. People called each other "brother" and "sister" as they expropriated goods from the stores that cheat them all year around. As one woman took some groceries from a store in Harlem, she shouted to a reporter, "This man's been stealing from us for years."

One new element in the uprisings were the store owners who, following the example of the cops, opened fire on people. In Youngstown, Ohio, a trigger-happy proprietor shot a 13-year-old youngster who allegedly broke a window.

In Kansas City, where over 15 persons were wounded by gunfire, two persons were killed for alleged expropriation of goods — one

by a cop and the other by a store owner. The rebellion that broke out there, five days after the murder of Martin Luther King, was precipitated by police tear-gassing of hundreds of high school youth marching on city hall.

In Detroit, which was under curfew and occupation by thousands of troops, two people were shot and killed in what was referred to by officials as "looting incidents."

Much is being made of the supposed "restraint" of the cops and troops in Washington, Baltimore, and elsewhere. It may be that the level of haphazard shooting was somewhat lower than that of last year's all-out police attacks during the Newark and Detroit rebellions, but the numbers of deaths and injuries put the lie to this myth of "police restraint."

At one point during the Chicago revolt, Mayor Daley went so far as to publicly announce that it was time to start using guns.

In Trenton, a white cop killed the former president of a high school human-relations club. He was shot in the back of the head after a crowd of his friends tried to prevent his arrest for allegedly taking a shirt from a haberdasher. After the murder, scores of youth marched through the streets shouting, "They killed a boy for stealing a shirt."

Students at Tennessee A & I State, a black university in Nashville, complained that cops demolished their dormitories after the campus ROTC building was burned.

The papers and TV had an obvious policy of playing down the entire revolt. Compared to the extensive on-the-spot reportage of last summer's rebellions, there were few reports and pictures of actual confrontations between cops and black people. There were almost no quotes and interviews giving the feelings of people on the streets. But, the timing of the protests with the death of Martin Luther King made their political nature clear.

Rallies and Demonstrations In Wake of Assassination

[Demonstrations and rallies in protest of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King were held in cities throughout the country. Following are reports on a few of these.]

NEW YORK, April 8 — About 18,000 turned out in the heart of the garment district at lunch time to attend a memorial rally for Dr. Martin Luther King today. The rally was called by District 65, AFL-CIO, a union with a large percentage of black and Puerto Rican members.

Signs carried by many of the demonstrators declared "We Protest the Cruel Murder of Dr. MLK, Jr., We Pledge to Continue His Struggle for Freedom and Peace."

Although the rally was addressed by such local dignitaries as Bronx Borough President Herman Badillo and New York's suntanned Mayor John Lindsay, several of the speakers departed from the hypocritical eulogizing of Dr. King that has flooded the nation.

Cleveland Robinson, the Afro-American secretary treasurer of District 65 and a board member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, declared:

"We talk about being nonviolent. This is a society which is nurtured on violence. If the President wants nonviolence, let him set an example. I call upon him now to bring the boys home from Vietnam. While negotiations are going on there is no need to fight.

"I say no more Vietnam — not for blacks, not for whites."

NEW YORK — More than 5,000 people met in Central Park April 5 to protest the racist assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The rally, called by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and other organizations, heard speakers from a number of groups and from the black community give their first reactions to the murder of Dr. King the night before.

Ossie Davis, the noted actor, said in a moving speech, "How much, America, do you expect us to bear. There is no more time. We had another brother who stood up for our rights who was gunned down in February 1965 — Brother Malcolm X . . .

"Those black brothers in Memphis who called for Martin King still need our help. We have lost a brother, but for every Martin who falls, a hundred others will rise up. They cannot kill all the Martins."

James Forman, international affairs director of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, commented on Lyndon Johnson's pious calls for nonviolence after King's murder: "That cracker had the nerve to say that America will not be ruled by the bullet but by the ballot — and him one of the greatest murderers in history. Just look at what he is doing in Vietnam."

"Martin Luther King believed in nonviolence as a dogma, and he was slain in the most violent country in the world. If he can be killed, no one is safe. There are many times when nonviolence is a good tactic, but black people should not believe in nonviolence as a dogma."

Cleveland Robinson, president of the Negro American Labor Council and a leader of District 65 AFL-CIO, said, "In fact black people are still slaves in this country. Martin Luther King died on a picket line helping poor black workers to rid themselves of the shackles of slavery. It is not the individual who pulled the trigger who is responsible, but the whole



AT CENTRAL PARK. Rally called by antiwar groups in New York to protest assassination of Dr. King.

system of racism and violence in this country. The first thing America should do to redeem itself is to call the boys back home from Vietnam."

Jarvis Tyner, national chairman of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, also spoke.

After the rally the crowd marched out of the park at 72nd Street and turned down Broadway, singing and chanting through midtown Manhattan to City Hall, more than 70 blocks away. Many workers in buildings along the line of march cheered the demonstrators as they went by, and some joined the parade.

MADISON, Wis. — Shortly after noon on the day after Martin Luther King was assassinated, 15,000 students at the University of Wisconsin marched from Bascom Hill on the campus to the Capitol and back. The mass turnout was the largest political demonstration to date in Madison.

University Chancellor William Sewell had originally called for a memorial service for Dr. King to be held at noon. However, the local black student association called a rally at the same time. The memorial service became a forum for militant speakers from the black student group who bitterly attacked racism, the system that perpetuates it, and the hypocrisy of the predominantly white audience.

They emphasized that while Dr. King was a great man and his assassination a brutal racist atrocity, his restraint and nonviolent tactics were a thing of the past.

After the last speech, Sidney Glass called for all assembled on the hill to join in a march to the State Capitol. Thousands fell into line behind the initial black contingent and the march grew as it proceeded toward the Capitol.

On the return to campus the march passed a life insurance company building whose American flag was flying at full mast. Militant students surrounded the building, demanding that the flag be brought to half-mast. Company officials hastily complied.

PHILADELPHIA, April 5 — About 10,000 people took part in a memorial rally today for Dr. Martin Luther King at Independence Hall. All but 100 students of the four thousand at South Philadelphia High School walked out of classes to join the 11 a.m. rally. There were also walkouts from several other high schools.

At the rally, speakers included members of the Young Militants, workers from SCLC, and civil

rights attorney Oscar Gaskins. Gaskins, who spoke after a city official had urged the crowd to be nonviolent and peace-loving in the tradition of Dr. King, replied, "I too urge us to be nonviolent — in the tradition of Stokely Carmichael. I do not believe in turning the other cheek. I believe in doing all we can to prevent violence against the black community."

The demonstrators then marched to the Federal Building at Ninth and Chestnut Streets, taking over the streets as they proceeded. An American flag was flying at full mast above the Federal Building, and the angry crowd chanted, "Lower the flag," until the officials complied.

LOS ANGELES — Some 20,000 people, black and white, gathered in the Los Angeles Coliseum April 7 to mourn the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. The meeting was sponsored by the recently formed Committee on United Operations, a united front including black nationalists and traditional black community leaders.

Among the speakers was Cesar Chavez, leader of the long embattled Delano grape strikers. "It was King and his original struggle in Montgomery that made our fight in Delano possible," Chavez said.

Rowne Larson, head of the Los Angeles American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union, also spoke. The striking sanitation workers in Memphis are members of AFSCME. He drew cheers from the audience when he announced that sanitation workers and their supporters would march in Memphis the next day whether there was an injunction against them or not.

Ron Karenga, leader of the militant nationalist organization US, also spoke. He was now part of the united coalition, he said, because the black people in Los Angeles now recognize that there can be unity without uniformity. "We don't have to all do the same thing," he said, "we just have to all fight the same fight." He went on to say that this is the era of the young lions, the time when the youth must take over the leadership of the fight. "We can learn from the older people." Karenga said, "but we don't have to repeat their mistakes."

A young representative of SNCC informed the crowd that the local SNCC offices had been raided by the police and files taken. It appeared to be part of a pattern of police raids on SNCC offices in other cities, she said.

Past Racist Murders

By Les Evans

If the brutal assassination of Martin Luther King were an isolated act, it would still be symptomatic of the depths of racism in this country. But it is not an isolated act. It is the latest in an ever lengthening series of racist murders that establish a pattern of racist oppression and violence.

What these killings document is the use of terror to contain and turn back the movement for black freedom in this country, and the systematic extermination of black leaders by individual white racists or by cops, while the capitalist government tacitly condones and encourages such actions.

Long List

Looking only at the past few years, we see a long list of killings. On Feb. 21, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated in New York. Malcolm X was the best-known of all Afro-American leaders next to King and was the spokesman for a far more militant tendency in the black movement that was fast winning the allegiance of the majority of black youth. Though the hand that pulled the trigger happened to be black, it is widely believed by black people that the forces behind the assassination of Malcolm X were carrying out the mandate of America's capitalist rulers. The killer himself testified that he had been hired for the job, denying any connection with the Black Muslims (who were blamed by the daily press).

Earlier, in June 1963, Medgar Evers, Mississippi field secretary of the NAACP, was shot to death as he stepped from his car in the driveway of his home in Jackson, Miss. His killer went free.

Meridian

In the summer of 1964, Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, and James Chaney were beaten and shot to death near Meridian, Miss.

A month after the murder of Malcolm X the famous Selma, Ala., march took place. Within a week three of the participants had been murdered: Jimmie Lee Jackson, the Rev. James L. Reeb, and Viola Gregg Liuzzo.

The summer of 1965 saw the rebellion in Watts that left 34 dead, victims of police and National Guard bullets.

A year later, in May, Leon Deadwyler was shot to death by a cop in Watts while driving his pregnant wife to the hospital, nearly touching off a repetition of the 1965 rebellion.

That June, James Meredith was wounded in a murder attempt while walking through Mississippi on a civil rights march.

In December 1966, a white segregationist was acquitted by an all-white jury in Opelika, Ala., of the murder of Samuel Younge, a student at Tuskegee Institute who was shot in the head after asking to use the "white" men's room at a gas station.

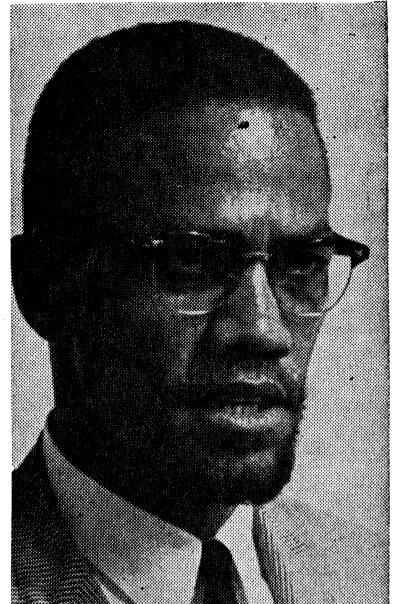
Natchez

Wharlest Jackson, former treasurer of the Natchez NAACP, was killed in that Mississippi town in February 1967, when a bomb exploded in his truck. He had just been promoted to a job previously done only by whites. At that time Charles Evers, NAACP state field secretary, said that Jackson's death made a total of 41 killings of black people in the state since his brother Medgar was gunned down.

In 1966 and the first few months of 1967, 10 black people were killed by cops in Birmingham, Ala. During the same period, no whites were killed by police in that city.

At Jackson State College in Jackson, Miss., cops shot and killed 22-year-old Benjamin Brown in a student demonstration last May.

During the long hot summer of 1967, the death toll in the black



Malcolm X

resistance struggle mounted sharply: 26 dead in Newark, 40 in Detroit. A number of witnesses, both black and white, testified that at least three of the dead in Detroit had been murdered in cold blood "for fun" by racist cops at the Algiers Motel.

This year cops and state troopers in Orangeburg, S.C., brutally attacked a student demonstration, Feb. 11, killing three students and wounding 50 others. Most of those hit were shot in the back while lying on the ground seeking cover.

Law and Order

In Memphis itself, exactly one week before Martin Luther King was gunned down, 16-year-old Larry Payne was shot to death while participating in the very demonstration that King came to Memphis to lead — and he was killed, not by a Klansman or vigilante, but by city police, the representatives of "law and order."

This record, which is only partial and covers only some of the best-known cases, testifies eloquently to the institutionalization of racist murder and intimidation on the government level. If America's rulers condone such acts, and grant white cops and National Guardsmen a "license to kill" black people, is it any wonder that racist individuals feel that they can do the same with impunity?

Troops Made Detroit Like Occupied City

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, April 7 — For the past two days and nights this city has taken on the outward appearance of an occupied zone. By day army vehicles and police cars loaded with steel-helmeted guardsmen and rifle-packing police race about the streets, and by night all citizens are kept indoors by these occupation forces in compliance with the 8 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew imposed by order of Mayor Cavanaugh and Governor Romney. Both worthy officials travel about by night with the armed forces and make televised reports on the prevailing state of tranquillity. They have announced now that schools will be closed to all students on Monday, April 8. Teachers are to report as usual.

Some schools and school yards in the ghetto serve as grouping areas and campsites for the armed forces and their heavy equipment. In this way the schools seem for the present to have been converted into fortresses by these harsh critics of Fidel Castro who converted the fortresses of old Cuba into schools for the children of a new world.

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Black Instructors Needed

Tougaloo, Miss.

The Political Action Committee of Tougaloo College, in an effort to create an awareness of the need for black instructors on our campus, is making a nationwide effort to recruit black instructors to Tougaloo.

We have the following positions available: Chemistry, 2; Math, 3; Spanish, 1; English, 1 or 2; History, 1; Political Science, 1; Economy, 2 or 3; Psychology, 1; Sociology, 1.

Interviews with the campus academic dean are advisable although not required. Credentials, letters of reference, plus transcript(s) must be sent or presented.

We will be looking forward to hearing from you in the immediate future so that we will know

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

A SOCIALIST IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY. What it's like for a soldier against the war in Vietnam, as told by Pfc. Howard Petrick. Friday, April 19, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St., contrib. 75 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

NATIONALISM, SOCIALISM AND THE '68 ELECTIONS. Speaker: PAUL BOUTELLE, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President. Saturday, April 20, 7:30 p.m. 9801 Euclid Ave. Buffet dinner party. Contrib. \$1.75. SWP of Ohio Campaign Committee.

LOS ANGELES

CHOICE 68. A symposium on the national collegiate presidential primary. Speakers for Kennedy, McCarthy and Halstead. Friday, April 19, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Donation. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

DEBATE: WHAT IS THE REAL CHOICE IN 'CHOICE 68?' Student spokesmen for: McCarthy; Craig Karpell, student at Columbia U.; Kennedy; to be announced; for Fred Halstead; Syd Stapleton, national executive committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance and staff member of the Student Mobilization Committee. Friday, April 19, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Note new date of forum on THE NEW GREEK RESISTANCE now to be on Saturday, APRIL 13, 8:30 p.m. at 873 Broadway.

the possibilities of our efforts being fruitful. It should be noted here that if anyone were to apply please send a note of it to the Political Action Committee as well as to the academic dean. Otherwise there may be the chance of your application being overlooked in favor of some white instructor.

Marilyn Henry
Chairman of Committee for
Recruitment
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Miss.

The Medical Business

New York, N.Y.

With the recent elimination of Medicaid for more than 800,000 people in the city of New York—practically everyone on the rolls between the age of 21 and 65 who is not blind or on welfare—hospitals and clinics are reviving the diagnosing of patient's wallets before deciding what treatment to prescribe.

While sitting in an eye clinic the other day I overhead an administrator instruct a group of doctors to stop scheduling operations in glaucoma cases until a much more advanced stage of the disease than had been the practice previously. He said that 60 scheduled operations would be canceled. Most of the victims of this disease are elderly people, and those who go to clinics for treatment are, for the most part, unable to pay the price of private care.

The punch line came when the administrator asked one doctor the state of a patient who was in the hospital to have both eyes operated on. When the doctor told him that surgery had been performed on one of the patient's eyes, the administrator said, "That should be good enough. Cancel the other operation and send him home."

B.T.

American Revolution

San Francisco, Calif.

Why are the people of America, a nation born in a revolution, so deathly afraid of the specter of a revolution? Why are we trying to hold back the hands of the clock?

The history of white America has been filled with crimes of violence against the people of other races and smaller nations, and we subconsciously realize that it is all coming back to us. We have been the only nation to use the atom bomb in war and for the mass killing of civilians.

Our history has been marked by the murder and enslavement of the Indians, Negroes and other minorities. Now we know that in a generation or less the Negroes will be the dominant race in America and the power is slipping from our hands into theirs. We are desperately afraid and we are literally trying to escape into the past.

It would be humorous if it were not so potentially tragic. Only a good old-fashioned revolution can transform America now.

It is a dubious assumption but let us say that capitalism had some value in changing young America from a wilderness into a world

power. But that time has long since passed. Trying to hold onto capitalism now will destroy us all, including the capitalists. Only moving into socialism, which will provide a good life for the people of every race, will save us now.

Dale Rasmussen

Likes "Letters" Column

Madison, Wis.

I think that your paper is extraordinarily good (content) and the format is certainly snappier than it has been in the past. One comment on content. If it is at all possible to have articles responding to particular letters to the editors in the future (as the case with "T.R." [Feb. 26 *Militant*]) when such letters warrant such treatment, it will make *The Militant* even better. Also one minor criticism. Your old format for the column "Letters from Our Readers" was better in that it provided more space for all the correspondence. Artistically, however, the present style is an improvement.

Keep up the great work.

M.W.

April Fool

Union City, N.J.

Why did the fox who is commander-in-chief wait until the eve of All Fools' Day to announce his no-bombing plan and his decision not to run for reelection?

Ever since he broke his 1964 campaign promise about Vietnam, I have believed nothing he has said. This is such an obvious April Fool's joke. Why doesn't he do just once what Ho Chi Minh wants and stop all bombing of the north?

L.W.B.

Friendly Criticism

San Diego, Calif.

One point of criticism from a completely sympathetic reader. Couldn't your writers and reporters use more fresh and original styles and keep away from the clichés and phrases which have been so overused on the Left for

decades. You could say the exact same things in different ways and the result would be a more interesting newspaper.

As of now your paper gets a bit dry week after week. I keep reading it because of the content and its basic position on all questions, not because it is tremendously interesting reportage. The changes in format in the last few months have been greatly appreciated, but I still think you could make your paper more interesting and more widely read and have a wider appeal by letting go of stale expressions. Don't worry, we'll recognize a Marxist position by any other words.

S.H.

Ideological Infighting?

San Francisco, Calif.

The SWP (and YSA) people in San Francisco are more energetic, more intelligent in Left politics than most antiestablishment groups. I am gratified at your continuing emphasis on classes instead of black vs. white.

But this brings up a disastrous theme — the ideological infighting of, say SWP vs. Communist Party and Progressive Labor. I've faced the CP here myself, through Women for Peace and the *People's World*, so I know how egotism makes for viciousness, but I can't see that Trotsky is as perfect as the Christians say of their Christ. It gives prospective members a feeling of being caught in ancient battles when they want to fight the present enemy.

J.P.

Antiwar Ideas

Berkeley, Calif.

It is time that the radical anti-

war movement broaden its demands regarding the Vietnam war. So far, the movement has demanded a withdrawal of U.S. troops so that the Vietnamese can settle their own affairs. This slogan essentially comprises the complete demands of the radical antiwar movement.

The movement should immediately begin to make use of the conclusions of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal that the U.S. is guilty of war crimes as proscribed by the Geneva Convention. A further demand should be that men such as LBJ, McNamara, Rusk, Bundy, Taylor, the Rostow brothers and Humphrey should be brought to trial for perpetrating war crimes on the people of Vietnam. This trial should take place in Vietnam and be conducted by the Vietnamese people, preferably by representatives of the NLF.

While the war continues, those opposed to the draft and pledged to resistance should try to involve not only potential draftees, but the parents of potential draftees. Parents should demand: "LBJ won't murder my son!"

Finally, when the war does end, there will be a need to rebuild the Vietnam that the U.S. has destroyed. The movement should demand that the U.S. rebuild Vietnam physically, while the movement rebuilds the U.S. politically. The U.S. will be rebuilt into a genuine ally of all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world. A victory of the NLF, the people of Vietnam, is also a victory for the American people.

R.C.

Comedian? — Gen. Westmoreland says that, relatively speaking, we have never been in a better military position in Vietnam.

On — President Johnson said the Marines did a brilliant job of keeping the Vietnamese pinned down all winter at Khesan.

No Napalm? — In cooperation with the U.S. Air Force, the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry will offer an exhibit with a special appeal for the kiddies. "Highlighting the exhibit," the Museum's Newsletter proudly announces, "will be an actual cockpit of a B-52 bomber, in which spectators can sit at the controls and participate in simulated B-52 missions through wide screen movies." Earlier, the Museum featured an Army exhibit of weapons used in Vietnam, including a helicopter in which machine guns could be electrically fired on simulated Vietnamese villages. That exhibit closed after demonstrations.

The Formula — Mrs. Harriet Adams heads a corporation that grinds out children's books like sausages. Explaining the success of their products—"The Bobbsey Twins," "Nancy Drew," etc.—Mrs. Adams assured: "They don't have hippies in them. And none of the characters have love affairs or get pregnant or take dope." Maybe that explains what happens to the kids who read them.

Ethical Gambling? — An April 4 *New York Times* headline reported: "Gambling at Capitol Disclosed as House Adopts Ethics Bill."

Footnote to Above — An April 7 *New York Times* headline re-

ported: "20% of Senators Are Millionaires."

Higher Education — "Anyone who has studied anatomy knows that the mid-calf length is just about the worst line that you can have," declared Mrs. John Parkinson, a New York socialite, in an angry polemic against current moves to lower hemlines.

Thrifty Nelson — Rep. Wright Patman suspects that some tax-free foundations abuse their privilege. He pointed to the Rockefeller Foundation's purchase of 50,000

—Harry Ring

The Great Society

If you are a new reader and would like to get better acquainted, you may obtain a special four-month introductory subscription by sending this blank and \$1 to

FOR NEW READERS

Name _____

Street _____ Zip _____

City _____ State _____

THE MILITANT

873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

Chicago's Ghetto: A Blast of Rage

APRIL 9 — Clambering out of an unmarked squad car packed with rifle-carrying detectives two days ago, Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley told reporters, "I never believed it would happen here." Daley had been touring the devastated areas of Chicago's West Side.

He was undoubtedly talking about the millions of dollars insurance companies would have to shell out in losses from over 1,000 fires; the 23,000-man police, National Guard and federal troop force he had called in to "seize and hold" the city—and his loss of personal prestige.

Not too long ago, the head of the Democratic Party's biggest machine had assured Johnson that Chicago was the safest place in the country to hold the Democratic Party Convention next August.

Large Scale

But the eruption last weekend appears to be second only to Detroit in 1967, in the extent of destruction and damage vented against landlords and shopowners in three days of angry uprising.

The turmoil erupted midday on Friday, the day following word that Martin Luther King had been gunned down by a white man in Memphis. Many black youths left schools; virtually all the ghetto schools were closed.

By Sunday, Daley had launched a savage repression and occupation of the city's black neighborhoods. Daley's troops included 5,000 federal soldiers ordered in by Johnson on Saturday; 7,500 National Guard and 10,500 city police rotating in 12-hour shifts. Newspapers report over 1,500

arrests; at least 500 injuries; and 11 deaths—all blacks and including one 10-month-old baby. Six of the seven black men shot, between the ages of 16 and 31, had bullet wounds in the chest, heart, neck or head. In only one of these cases did the police even claim that the victim was armed.

As in previous inner-city revolts, the cops and newspapers were hysterical about "sniper fire." Yet only one police officer was reported wounded by a bullet and there was no evidence presented to show that he hadn't been shot by another officer, as in Detroit last summer.

The savagery of the federal, state and local police officers was hinted at in a remark by National Guard Brig. Gen. Richard T. Dunn: the disturbances were not organized, he declared, and "this is a positive factor." The "looters" will "probably relent with the application of force."

That force included thousands of troops, heavily armed in jeeps and trucks, patrolling the streets with fixed bayonets and rifles loaded.

In the courts, black victims were held on bonds ranging from \$500 for "burglary" to \$1,000 for "disorderly conduct." "Many defendants could not raise money," the papers report.

Leo Jones, a leader of the West Side black Independent Political Organization, told a press conference that the blame belongs with the "white power structure. Our own political leadership has been kept off the ballots. We have no representation in government. The white officeholders in our community don't represent us."

U.S. Congressmen Smear Dr. Martin Luther King

By Dick Roberts

APRIL 9 — "Call the roll of cities where King has taken his nonviolent demonstrations — in city after city there has been violence, the mob ran wild, there was burning and looting, and people were killed. But King always manages to get away just before the shooting starts."

The speaker of these revolting lines was U.S. Representative Dan Kuykendall. He was addressing the House of Representatives in Washington, Monday, April 1, four days before Dr. Martin Luther King was gunned down in Kuykendall's home town, Memphis, Tenn.

Rep. Kuykendall's racist slur of Dr. King did not raise any eyebrows in the House of Representatives. There and in the Senate, Congressmen have been conducting a vicious red-baiting smear campaign against King for weeks — ever since he announced the "Poor People's Campaign" to march on Washington in late April.

The same day Kuykendall blasted King on the House floor, Rep. John M. Ashbrook entered remarks in the *Congressional Record* appendix purporting to link King with Communism.

"Last year," Ashbrook asserted, "I outlined the various statements of Reverend King which more than gave credibility to the charge by J. Edgar Hoover that he was the nation's 'most notorious liar.'"

Kuykendall was followed in the House by another Tennessee Congressman, Democrat Robert A.

Everett from Union City. King "is a troublemaker of the first water," Everett said. "I realize he preaches nonviolence on one hand but yet by his words and deeds he creates violence and disorder wherever he might be able to spew his venom..."

"The police department of Memphis has always been a great organization, developed throughout the years beginning with our former colleague, Congressman Clifford Davis. . . .

"To show you how this Martin Luther King works, when he was leading this march, the march got out of hand and hoodlums and goons began to smash store windows and looting began to take place.

"The police department moved in to stop this violent action and Martin Luther King joined the 'bird gang,' as we call it in west Tennessee, and as one radio announcer . . . commented, 'He ran like a scared rabbit.'

Did anyone rise in the House to object to this vilification? Please. It has been going on for a long time, and it continued right down to the day King was assassinated.

On that day, Thursday April 4, Rep. Robert H. Michel, a Republican from Peoria, Ill., declared: "I call upon the Reverend Martin Luther King to emulate the President's example and remove himself from his divisive role as head of a movement which is negating progress in the field of civil rights."



CONFRONTATION. Angry black youths and National Guard in Pittsburgh. A few minutes after this picture was taken, National Guard took aim on black people, who dispersed.

In the Nation's Capital: How D.C. Exploded

By Nancy Strebe

WASHINGTON, April 7—Eight people are dead, 1,000 injured and more than 4,600 arrested following the massive occupation of this city by cops, federal troops and the National Guard. The ruthless and brutal repression was the government's answer to the spontaneous outpouring of anger by Washington's black majority following the racist assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. Almost all of those arrested are black. There were 706 fires in the District of Columbia from Thursday through Sunday afternoon.

Friday afternoon, April 5, after walking home through nearly panicked crowds of federal workers trying to get out to the suburbs, I looked out the window of my apartment, on a hill on Connecticut Avenue, N.W. I could see the edge of the black community a block away, and the view extends past the Capitol, over to the Washington Monument and beyond.

It was an eerie sight: huge balls of flame rose and dissolved in clouds of black smoke. Sirens were everywhere.

Seventh Street, N.W., went first. Those are the stores of the worst price-gougers, filled with cheap, shoddy goods. After all the goods were gone, the stores were burned.

Next went 14th Street, N.W., another ugly street of high-pressure, high-interest stores, and a major thoroughfare of the black community. Four blocks from my window another building caught fire and burned through the night.

All across the city there were flames at scattered places which, when they reflected on the smoke, made the whole city glow red.

Federal troops were helicoptered and trucked in and ringed both the White House and the Capitol like a conquering army. They were also lined up in front of banks, large department stores and other symbols of economic oppression. The bus company, privately owned, stopped running buses at 6:30 p.m., Thursday through Sunday.

The annual Cherry Blossom

Festival parade and festivities were to have been held this weekend. They were called off, and the Washington Board of Trade watched their pocketbooks in horror as tens of thousands of tourists fled the city.

Across the street is the Washington Hilton Hotel. It was built to handle 5,000 or more paying guests; tonight I see about 10 windows lighted. There are no taxis on the cab stand where there are usually 15 or 20 at all times.

Saturday morning fires were still burning and Connecticut Avenue, normally jammed with cars and people, was deserted, except for police and troops. By this time nearly 12,000 troops, both National Guard and Army units, had been brought into the city (more than were used in the five days in Detroit last summer).

I am still wondering where they found so many white troops in this area—black guardsmen and GIs were in the minority and were usually paired with white soldiers. It is very strange to look out the window and see only battle-dressed federal troops on the street, carrying tear gas and rifles with bayonets in place. As the day wore on, police cruisers announced the 4 p.m. curfew over loudspeakers. Over half of those arrested were jailed solely for being on the streets after curfew. There were fewer fires Saturday.

Calif. Antiwar Group Supports Pfc. Petrick

The Peace Action Council of Southern California passed a resolution at a general meeting April 3 welcoming "the decision of the Army to drop its threat to court-martial antiwar GI Pfc. Howard Petrick." The resolution added, "We oppose the decision of the Army to give Pfc. Petrick an undesirable discharge. This decision constitutes a continued attempt to abridge the constitutional right of GIs to oppose the war. We call on the Army to immediately grant Pfc. Petrick a full and honorable discharge."

day night, but I heard gunshots and dogs and still the sirens.

Today it was relatively quiet, only a few fires to be seen. But there were more troops than Saturday and they were all over. I could see them guarding a number of large stores and banks.

People came out and drove around, and many cars had "Soul Brother" written on them.

This last weekend forced whites to realize that Washington, D.C., is 66 percent black and that if the city and federal government are going to continue their policy of racist oppression of this city's black majority, they can expect the resistance of black people to continue to deepen. The events of this weekend are only the beginning. The city will never be the same again.

84% of Blacks In Phila. Favor Vietnam Pullout

Results of a poll taken by the third largest Afro-American newspaper in the country were overwhelmingly in favor of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The *Philadelphia Tribune*, which has been conducting the poll of its readership over a seven-week period, announced the following final outcome in its April 6 issue:

Get Out of Vietnam 84.5%	
Stop Bombing, Negotiate	11.0%
Support LBJ's Policies	4.5%

The *Tribune* reported that "the public response to the Vietnam ballot was the largest to any public campaign we've run in the last 10 years."